

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05701 01 OF 02 181255Z

45

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10

EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-02 PRS-01 OES-05 SS-15

USIA-15 SAJ-01 /134 W

----- 112293

P R 181200Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4728

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USEL SALT TWO GENEVA 109

ERDA GERMANTOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5701

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: CCD, PARM

SUBJECT: EXCERPTS FROM SWEDISH CCD STATEMENT

REF: GENEVA 5700

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY INGA THORSSON AT CCD PLENARY JULY 17 DEALING WITH BILATERAL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, CTB, NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS DISCUSSIONS, NUCLEAR COMMERCIAL DEALS, FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND "SUPERPOWER" RESPONSIBILITIES.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05701 01 OF 02 181255Z

2. US-USSR DISARMAMENT COMMITMENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS:

QUOTE* WAS THERE ANYONE WHO HAD ENTERTAINED HOPES THAT IN CONDUCTING THEIR DISARMAMENT TALKS, THE NUCLEAR WEAPON SUPERPOWERS WOULD LET REASON AND COMMON SENSE PREVAIL, BY ARRIVING, AFTER YEARS OF PLEDGES AND PROMISES, AT GENUINE RESULTS IN TERMS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT LONG OVERDUE, THAT THEY WOULD BE EAGER TO SHOW THE WORLD, THEREBY, THAT THEY DID NOT LOOK AT THEIR COMMITMENT UNDER THE NPT ARTICLE VI AS A SIMPLE SCRAP OF PAPER, WHICH COULD BE WHISKED AWAY WITH A REFERENCE TO ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, BUT AS A SERIOUS PLEDGE TO STOP THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AT AN EARLY DATE AND TO PRODUCE THOSE GENUINE RESULTS?

YES, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE WERE SUCH PERSONS, THERE WERE INDEED SUCH STATES. THIS MIGHT IN RETROSPECT SEEM A LITTLE NAIVE. WE SHOULD LONG AGO HAVE LEARNED BY EXPERIENCE, THAT POLITICAL REALITIES AS CONCEIVED BY THE SUPERPOWERS AND NOT BY THE REST OF THE WORLD, DICTATE THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. WE WOULD NOT FOR A MOMENT DENY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FACT THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ENTERTAIN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. BUT THE FACT IS THAT THESE TALKS ARE BILATERAL AND BASED ON THEIR CONCEPTS OF WORLD REALITIES. THIS IS WHAT MAKES THE SUPERPOWERS BELIEVE THAT EACH AND EVERY ARMAMENT PROBLEM FACING MANKIND TODAY CAN BEST BE SOLVED, IF SOLVED AT ALL, THROUGH BILATERAL TALKS BETWEEN THEM, PRESENTING THE RESULTS TO US AS FINISHED PRODUCTS, WHEN THEY CONSIDER, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, TIME RIFE AND APPROPRIATE. THIS IS WHAT MAKES THEM CONTINUE THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN SPITE OF REPEATED TALKS OF ARMS LIMITATIONS. THIS IS WHAT MAKES THEM DEVOTE ASTRONOMIC SUMS TO RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS TO PRODUCE NEW AND INCREASINGLY INGENIOUS WEAPON SYSTEMS, THE LATEST OF WHICH IS FEARED TO ESTABLISH A FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY. THIS IS WHAT MAKES US ALL LIVE UNDER THE THREAT OF A NUCLEAR ARMS STRATEGY, IMPLYING THE POSSIBILITY OF FIRST USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05701 01 OF 02 181255Z

IN AREAS OF THE WORLD WHERE THIS WOULD CAUSE UNLIMITED, YES TOTAL DESTRUCTION. END QUOTE.

3. ON NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE: QUOTE: MUCH HAS BEEN SAID OF THE RESULTS OF THE REVIEW CONFERENCE, AN EVENT WHICH WAS CALLED, BY SOME, THE MOST IMPORTANT IN 30 YEARS OF DISARMAMENT HISTORY. IT HAS BEEN CALLED A FAILURE, BOTH BY PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS.

I WOULD SAY, IN ALL FRANKNESS, THAT THE CONFERENCE ACHIEVED WHAT WAS REALISTICALLY POSSIBLE. IF IT BROUGHT THE SUPERPOWERS ONE INCH TOWARDS A MORE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE WORLD EXPECTS OF THEM, IT WAS WORTHWHILE EFFORTS AND COSTS. FOR WHAT WAS A FAILURE WAS NOT THE CONFERENCE, BUT THE WAY IN WHICH THE SUPERPOWERS PROVED THEMSELVES UNABLE TO SHOW THE WORLD NOT ONLY THEIR GENUINE WILL BUT ALSO THEIR CAPACITY FOR DISARMAMENT. END QUOTE.

4. ON CTB: QUOTE: AS IS WELL KNOWN, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE IS ONE DISARMAMENT MATTER WHICH ACCORDING TO A DECISION BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON THE CCD-AGENDA, WHICH IS BEING REFERRED TO IN DEFERENTIAL TERMS NOW AND AGAIN BUT ON WHICH VERY LITTLE PROGRESS, IF ANY, HAS BEEN MADE FOR 12 YEARS NOW. I AM REFERRING, OF COURSE, TO THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS OUR INTENTION NOT TO ALLOW THIS MATTER TO BE BURIED BENEATH THE THRESHOLD OF ANY PARTIAL UNDERGROUND TEST BAN TREATY, AS--CONTRARY TO ANY SUCH BAN--THE CTB IS THE SINGLE MOST DECISIVE STEP TOWARDS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT THAT COULD BE TAKEN, A STEP TO BE GREETED WITH JOY AND RELIEF ALL OVER THE WORLD, A STEP IN THE WAY OF WHICH THERE ARE NO TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES THAT COULD BE ACCEPTED AS AN EXCUSE NOT TO TAKE IT. I THEREFORE WANT TO BRING TO LIGHT AGAIN THE SWEDISH WORKING PAPER CCD/348 OF SEPTEMBER 1971 AS WELL AS THE NINE DELEGATIONS JOINT MEMORANDUM CCD/354 OF SEPTEMBER 1971, ON A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. AS MIGHT BE RECALLED BY SOME AROUND THIS NEGOTIATING TABLE, THE WORKING PAPER CCD/348 CONTAINS A DRAFT TEXT OF A TREATY BANNING ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 GENEVA 05701 01 OF 02 181255Z

WEAPON TESTS, THUS MAKING FOR A COMPLETE TEST BAN. WITH THE INTENTION TO INITIATE A FULL AND CONCRETE DISCUSSION ON THE MANY ASPECTS OF SUCH A TREATY, LEADING UP TO RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS URGENT MATTER, I AM CONSIDERING TO PROPOSE THAT THE CCD CALL AN EXPERT MEETING, TO BE HELD DURING ITS SPRING SESSION 1976, ON THE REMAINING PROBLEMS STILL CONSIDERED TO BE IN THE WAY TOWARDS THE DISCONTINUANCE OF ALL TEST EXPLOSIONS IN ALL ENVIRONMENTS. END QUOTE.

5. ON NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS' DISCUSSIONS: QUOTE: PRESS REPORTS HAVE REACHED US, MR. CHAIRMAN, INDICATING THAT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SUPPLIERS OF NUCLEAR FACILITIES HAVE MET RECENTLY TO DISCUSS FURTHER MEASURES TO INCREASE CONTROL AND SAFEGUARD MECHANISMS

IN ACCORDANCE WITH CERTAIN STANDARDS. AS A COUNTRY
DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE SERIOUS SIDE-EFFECTS OF
NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY WE APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS THUS
REPORTEDLY MADE, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO INFORMATION AS
TO THEIR SCOPE AND CONTENT. END QUOTE.

6. ON NUCLEAR DEALS (I.E. FRG-BRAZIL): QUOTE:

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE REPORTED EFFORTS, WE FIND IT
DISQUIETING TO SAY THE LEAST, THAT MEANWHILE
IMMENSE COMMERCIAL DEALS ARE CONCLUDED, INVOLVING

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05701 02 OF 02 181315Z

45

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10

EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-02 PRS-01 OES-05 SS-15

USIA-15 SAJ-01 ACDE-00 /134 W
----- 112601

P R 181200Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4729

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

ERDA GERMANTOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 5701

THE PROVISION NOT ONLY OF NUCLEAR REACTORS BUT ALSO

ALL THE FACILITIES TO COMPLETE THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE, THEREBY IN REALITY ENABLING THE RECIPIENT COUNTRY TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. THIS AFFAIR AGAIN, BUT WITH UNCOMMON FORCE, BRINGS TO MIND DOUBTS WHETHER THE NPT-SAFEGUARDS, NOT TO SPEAK OF THE ORIGINAL IAEA-SAFEGUARDS, REALLY ARE SUFFICIENT TO CONTAIN THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR ENERGY TECHNOLOGY IN ITS HOPED FOR CIVILIAN LIMITS. TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING HERE I WANT TO STRESS THAT I SAY THIS WITHOUT ADDRESS TO THE PARTICULAR COUNTRIES INVOLVED. IN SAY IT IN RESPONSE TO MY OWN DOUBTS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05701 02 OF 02 181315Z

THAT OUR PRESENT NUCLEAR ENERGY REGIME REALLY IS SUFFICIENT, SOMETHING I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY BEFORE. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE SUPPLIER COUNTRY IS A PARTY TO THE NPT AND WAS A PARTICIPANT IN THE REVIEW CONFERENCE I DO, HOWEVER, HOPE THAT IT MIGHT BE PRESUMED THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS KEPT IN MIND THE CONFERENCE REQUESTS-WHICH IT HAS SUPPORTED-THAT EXPORT REQUIREMENTS INCLUDE THE APPLICATION OF SAFEGUARDS TO ALL PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES IN IMPORTING STATES NOT PARTY TO THE TREATY. EVEN BETTER WOULD IT HAVE BEEN IF THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION HAD ADHERED TO SUGGESTIONS MADE FOR A MORATORIUM ON TRANSFERS OF THIS KIND, TO GIVE TIME FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATION-ALSO SUPPORTED BY THAT COUNTRY--FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL OR MULTINATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE CENTERS. END QUOTE.

7. ON FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: QUOTE: MUCH OF THE NEWS OF THE DAY COMPOUNDS A SINISTER CONFIRMATION OF THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE STILL ATTACHED TO THIS HORRIBLE MEANS OF WARFARE AND SEEMS, INCREDIBLY ENOUGH, TO NEGATE, AGAIN, THE HOPE THAT IT WILL NEVER BE USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY, FOR WHAT ELSE IS AT STAKE, WHEN, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF HUGE ARSENALS OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE THE LEADERS OF ONE OF THE SUPERPOWERS REPEATEDLY CONFIRM THEIR CONSISTENT REFUSAL TO RULE OUT FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A RESPONSE TO A MASSIVE ATTACK WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS? WHAT ELSE IS AT STAKE, WHEN NEW WEAPONS OR WEAPON SYSTEMS ARE DEVELOPED WHICH SEEM TO "TAKE ON A LIFE OF THEIR OWN" AND WHICH SEEM TO RESULT IN A NEED FOR NEW POLICIES AND STRATEGIES INSTEAD OF THE OTHER WAY AROUND, OUT OF THE SHEER MOMENTUM OF ADVANCES IN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY? WHAT ELSE IS AT STAKE, WHEN WE SEE AGAIN THE PROPOSITION TO REPLACE HIGHER-YIELD WEAPONS NOW DEPLOYED IN EUROPE WITH ACCURATELY

DELIVERED LOW-YIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS? END QUOTE.

8. ON "SUPERPOWERS" RESPONSIBILITIES: QUOTE: WE ARE
DETERMINED NOT TO BE IMPRESSED WITH THE RHETORIC OF
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05701 02 OF 02 181315Z

THE SUPERPOWERS MILITARY PLANNERS AND STRATEGISTS,
NOR PARALYZED IN OUR EFFORTS BY THE POLITICAL AND
MILITARY HEGEMONY OF THESE POWERS. WE ARE GOING TO
FACE THEM WITH THE LEGITIMATE REQUEST, OVER AND
OVER AGAIN, THAT THEY RESPOND IN ACTION AND PRACTICAL
RESULTS TO THE UNIVERSAL CRY FOR DISARMAMENT, AS A
MEANS TO SUBSTITUTE PROGRESS TOWARDS GENUINE PEACE
FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF CATASTROPHIC DISASTER. FOR
IT IS THEY WHO CARRY THE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR
SUCH A PROCESS LEADING UP TO HUMAN SURVIVAL IN
DECENCY AND DIGNITY. AT THE SECOND NPT REVIEW CON-
FERENCE WE DO INDEED EXPECT THEM TO PROVE TO THE WORLD
THE EFFECTIVE START OF THAT PROCESS. END QUOTE. DALE

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DISARMAMENT, TEXT, NEGOTIATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA05701
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750248-1119
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750743/aaaabmpy.tel
Line Count: 300
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 5700
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 FEB 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 FEB 2003 by ThomasVJ>; APPROVED <19 MAR 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EXCERPTS FROM SWEDISH CCD STATEMENT
TAGS: PARM, SW, CCD, (THORSSON, INGA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006